



Review: Iranians in Babylonia

Author(s): Matthew W. Stolper

Reviewed work(s):

Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia by Muhammad A. Dandamayev

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 114, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1994), pp. 617-624

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/606166>

Accessed: 04/11/2008 20:25

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=aos>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



American Oriental Society is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

IRANIANS IN BABYLONIA*

MATTHEW W. STOLPER

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Remarks on M. A. Dandamayev's compendious overview of documentary evidence for Iranian presence in Babylonia under Achaemenid rule include amendments to the descriptions of some texts, corrections of the dating of some texts, additional references to primary textual evidence and critical literature, and corrections of some editorial lapses.

THE RULING CLASSES OF THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE left few texts in Old Iranian languages to record their names and concerns, so the study of Achaemenid Iranians relies on evidence in the languages of the Empire's subjects and adversaries. Greek and Babylonian texts were the richest source of this evidence before Hallock's *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* was published in 1969, and the Babylonian corpus is still pre-eminent for its wide distribution in time and space, its formal variety that represents a range of functional contexts, and its relatively clear transcriptions of Iranian words and names. Dandamayev names Hüsing and Eilers among the early scholars who collected and interpreted Iranian evidence from widely scattered Babylonian texts, and Hinz, Mayrhofer, Schmitt, and Zadok among contributors to the wave of restudy that began in the 1970s (p. x). This publication of Dandamayev's 1987 lectures at Columbia University, incorporating earlier surveys and updating them with fresh material and opinion, is the first such compendium to appear in fifteen years. It is an indispensable guide to texts and secondary literature that will save students of Achaemenid history and languages the immense effort that Dandamayev has spent during his long studies.

Part one, "Traditions and Innovations," sketches a background of institutions, devoting one to five pages each to broad historical topics (systems of administration, law, taxes, land tenure, and military organization, and imperial policies toward temples), with special attention to selected Iranian loanwords and associated Babylonian terms. Part three, "Inhabitants of the Iranian Plateau and Central Asia in Babylonia," sketches a complementary

cultural background, summarizing Achaemenid Babylonian allusions to Elam and Elamites and to various Iranian populations, and concluding with remarks on religious and cultural contacts and the status of Iranian minorities.

The heart of the book, about half of its contents, is part two, "Iranian Names." It arranges evidence drawn chiefly from Babylonian legal and administrative texts (but also from Aramaic, Classical, and Biblical sources) under 353 headings, supplying attested spellings, etymologies, bibliography, and brief characterizations of the contexts in which the names appear, usually distinguishing homonymous individuals. Some entries include excursuses on Iranian titles or loanwords. The list includes, in addition to individuals who lived in Babylonia (p. xi), parties and witnesses in Babylonian texts drawn up outside Babylonia, occasional non-Babylonian rulers (Kurash of Parsumash, Bardiya), and a few geographical names. The bibliography and indexes that complement the list constitute about a quarter of the book.

Among the general historical views that affect Dandamayev's presentation of particulars is the understanding that radical administrative changes near the beginning of Darius I's reign led to a concentration of important political, administrative, and military offices in the hands of ethnic Persians (p. 5). A consequence is Dandamayev's interpretive principle that Iranian titles held by individuals with Babylonian names or patronyms label unimportant offices (e.g., pp. 10, 52); that is, rank and status depended in part on ethnicity and descent.

Dandamayev's principles for inferring ethnicity, descent, and geographical origin from the etymologies of personal names and patronyms arise from general suppositions about immigration and contact. They are first explicitly stated on pp. 171ff.: Iranian names in texts from the late sixth and early fifth centuries must belong to born Iranians; when name and patronym are

* This is a review article of: *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*. By MUHAMMAD A. DANDAMAYEV. Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies, number 6. Costa Mesa, Cal.: MAZDA PUBLISHERS, 1992. Pp. xi + 241.

both Iranian, or when several Iranian names appear together, the holders of the names must be of Iranian origin or descent; persons with Babylonian names and Iranian patronyms may be children of mixed marriages, but persons with Iranian names and Semitic patronyms must be of Babylonian or Aramean descent. Some of the entries in part two amplify these principles: names of people with Iranian patronyms or gentilics in the reign of Darius I or earlier are more likely to have Iranian than non-Iranian etymologies (pp. 71 s.v. *Gambii*, 123 s.v. *Šummu*; and cf. p. 114 s.v. *Pirmizdi*); Iranian-named fathers of persons with Babylonian names in later texts may have been Babylonians themselves (pp. 28 s.v. *Aḫšeti* c, 51 s.v. *Bagadāta*- d, 54 s.v. *Bagaina* b); Iranian names without patronyms imply Iranian ethnicity (pp. 39 on *Artambar* a, 51 s.v. *Bagadāta*- f).

The general absence of gentilics makes it hard to distinguish individual names as belonging to one or another of the Iranian "tribes" (p. 171), but it seems "natural to suppose" that many holders of Iranian names were Persians, and fewer were Medes (p. 158, cf. p. 3 on *Gubāru* and *Uštānu*). Nonetheless, Dandamayev observes accurately that Babylonian transcriptions of Iranian words and names usually represent "Median" rather than Old Persian forms where such a distinction can be made at all (p. x), and the simplest likely reason is that Persian speakers were a minority among Achaemenid Iranians. Dandamayev himself sometimes ignores this observation and its consequences: e.g., in identifying Babylonian forms with telltale "Median" *-θr-* or *-z-* as transcriptions of reconstructed Old Persian forms with *-č-* or *-d-* (*aḫšadrapannu* and *umarzanapāta*, p. 6; *pardēsu*, p. 20); in treating "Median" *aspa-* vs. Old Persian *asa-* not as an instance of the general phenomenon, but as evidence that *aspastu*, "lucerne(?)," came into Babylonian via Assyrian from a "Median," hence *pre*-Achaemenid, source (p. 17); or in rejecting Hinz's translation of Babylonian *uštābari* as "Kamelreiter" because Old Persian "camel" was *uša-*, though Hinz's suggestion presupposes an underlying "Median" **uštra-* (p. 60).

Like other compendia, Dandamayev's represents the recent status of a changing corpus. It invites marginal comments, additions and reconsiderations.

*Characterizations of some texts can be clarified:*¹

Pp. 9, 83, 102, and 220: in Achaemenid Babylonian (and probably in earlier Neo-Babylonian and in Neo-

Assyrian) the logogram *LÚ.GI+DUB* represents Babylonian *mašennu* (not *abarakku*). The translation "chief steward of the royal household" offered for *mašennu*, p. 38 s.v. *Artambar* (cf. *abarakku*, p. 83 s.v. *Ḫurunatu*), is without support in Achaemenid Babylonian texts.

Pp. 15 and 220: the translation "sword bearers" presumes a reading of the logogram *LÚ.GIR.LAL* as *naš paṭri* (not *ṭābiḫu* [sic]).

P. 19: for "persons who suffered from leprosy" (presumably reading *LÚ.SAḪAR.ŠUB.BA*), read "prebend holder(s)" (*LÚ.GIŠ.ŠUB.BA*) in UET 4 57:5, 10, and 12 (cf. UET 4 60:3).

P. 27 s.v. *Aḫiamanuš*: BE 10 84 is a receipt for rent paid to subordinates of the satrap *Gūbaru* for canals (not for a field of the satrap *G.*); BE 10 85 and PBS 2/1 103 and 201 refer to different properties (not to the same property passed from father to son).

P. 29 s.v. *Appiešu* and 235a: delete *Bit Uqūpi*; read *é ú-qu GIŠ.APIN* in Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 11, no. 1 obv. (!) 4 (collated); cf. *uqu* (*GIŠ*).*APIN* Dar. 533:17 and 20.

P. 43 s.v. *Artarios*: Stolper 1987, pp. 399f., attributes a career of thirty years or more not to *Artarios* (Babylonian *Artareme*) but to *Bēlšunu* (Greek *Belesys*).

P. 45 s.v. *Arturū*[. . .]: in K.(sic) 8133, A. is the patronym of *Parnuma*², as indicated on p. 110; *Batraparsa*³ is the name of another witness, as indicated on p. 66.

P. 53 s.v. *Bagadāta*- 1, end: BE 10 129 refers to a bailiff (*paqdu*) of an *ustarbaru*, not vice-versa.

users of these remarks may wish to collate them with the published text.

The style of volume is confusing. Citations of cuneiform text editions combine generally recognizable standard abbreviations of some works with sometimes opaque references in social-science format, by author and date, to others. The personal names under discussion are normally set in roman type, whether transliterated or normalized, as are personal names transliterated from other scripts. Aramaic spellings are given uppercase, but Parthian spellings in Aramaic script are given lowercase. Most reconstructed Iranian forms are set in roman, but most other Iranian proper nouns and most Iranian common nouns are set in italic, whether transliterated or normalized. Reconstructed Iranian forms or transliterated cuneiform names are sometimes italicized when they are quoted from works that set them in italics.

Where comments go beyond the published text, abbreviations and the use of italics generally follow the style of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CAD), with minor adaptations to JAOS style.

¹ Where possible, abbreviations and citations and the use of italics follow Dandamayev's style, on the supposition that

P. 53 s.v. Baga-ḥaja a: OECT 10 192:3 refers not to a “royal tax (*bilat šarri*),” but to property with the juridical status of “crown grant (*nidintu šarri*),” managed by B., who figures as the recipient (not issuer) of dates (*sic*) paid as assessed rent (*imittu*).

Pp. 54, 59, 220, and passim: read *ša rēš šarri* (not *rēš šarri*; LÚ.SAG = *šá-re-šú* Igituh short version 232).

P. 55 s.v. Bagamiḥi a: in BE 9 50, the barley and dates are not supplies for royal soldiers, but rations for B., paid along with other components of a rental, including the provision of twenty-five “king’s men” (i.e., corvée workers) and rations for B.; see G. van Driel, “The Murašûs in Context,” *JESHO* 32 (1989): 227, n. 13.

P. 57 s.v. Bagamiri d: BE 9 48 is a *fictional* lease with a nominal term of sixty years, representing a long-term loan (Cardascia 1951, p. 142) or a *de facto* sale; L. Bregstein observes (personal communication) that it is the only text in the Murašû archive to include the clause *ina ašābi* ¹PN, otherwise specific to texts involving the alienation of real property, and the only text in the archive with a fingernail-mark that was made with a tool rather than with an actual fingernail, also a characteristic of earlier Neo-Babylonian real-estate sales and alienations in similar format.

P. 58 s.v. Bagapāna a: Camb. 316 deals with a “detachment (*kišir*) of B.” (not rent on land); see van Driel, *JESHO* 32: 205.

Pp. 58f. s.v. Bagapāna b: if Ba-ga-a-pa-² is a rendering of Bagapāna with *-n-* reduced to a nasalized vowel, Greek Bagapaios could be considered here as Bagapānu e, rather than as a separate heading, but Dandamayev’s rendering Bagapāna² in the same paragraph seems to imply an underlying scribal lapse, Ba-ga-pa-<na>-². Read “This Bagapāna² apparently was *not* identical with Megapanos”: the Babylonian text that mentions B. as governor is from regnal year 19 of Darius I, 503 B.C.; Xerxes’ invasion of Greece was about twenty years later, and Herodotus 7.62 says that M. was governor only *after* that.

P. 59 s.v. Bagapāna d: Quintus Curtius 5.1.20 and 44 gives the name as Bagophanes, also listed p. 65 s.v., with a different etymological proposal (< *Baga-farna?).

Pp. 60f. s.v. Bagasaru a: Dar. 296 does not record rent *paid* in barley, wheat, and cress-seed (*sic*), but a series of statements about barley, etc., received by the two individuals and their joint and several obligations to repay it. Dar. 527 does not record a payment of rent, but an obligation to pay rent. Dar. 527:4 has Ba-ak-ka-su-ru-ú. In Dar. 534 and 542, read Nabû-gabbi-ilê (again, p. 229).

P. 65 s.v. Barēna²: the translation “immigrants” presupposes a reading *maqtu*; cf. p. 96 s.v. Madbannu.

P. 66 s.v. Barziya and 210: delete the reference to BE 10 100. In Leichty and Grayson nos. (= BM) 67412 and 67516, now published by S. Graziani, *Testi . . . datati al regno di Bardiya*, Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, suppl. 67 (1991): nos. 11 and 35, the name is spelled Barziya, as usual, but in BM 64780 = Graziani No. 21, it is spelled Bar-di-[ia].

P. 67 s.v. Dadaparna² and p. 219: in DB §6 Babylonian *ḥu-ma-ri-iz-mu* (line 6) corresponds to Old Persian *u-v-a-r-z-mi-i-y* = *Uvārazmī*, “Choresmia” (i 16, similarly with initial *uvā-* and stem-vowel *-i* in assorted other Old Persian passages); the Aramaic transcription does not occur in the Aramaic fragment of DB.

P. 71 s.v. Girparna²: the translation of TMH 2/3 204 in Cardascia 1951, p. 168, is to be corrected after W. von Soden, review of Cardascia 1951, *BiOr* 11 (1954): 207 and CAD, s.v. *bu²û* mng. 6. A member of the Murašû firm addresses Iskutikku, called “servant of G.,” and his coadjutor, concerning fields and buildings “held by us as a pledge (*bit maškanini*, i.e., as a result of foreclosure on a hypothec), which have (now) been re-assigned to G. on a written order from Arbareme,” continuing, “in the future I will be accountable for whatever damage has been done in that field and building.”

Pp. 77 and 218: the place name in BE 8 80 is URU *šá ḥa-an-di-di* = Ālu ša Ḥandīdī, where Ḥ. is a personal name, probably West Semitic (see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* [Jerusalem: Wanaarta, 1977], 39, 57, and 103); on the unclear contents of this text, see also van Driel, *JESHO* 32: 205f.

P. 86 s.v. Induka²: the date of K.(*sic*) 8133 is not preserved.

P. 87 s.v. Ispaudu: read Ispaludu; the same individual reappears in Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 14 no. 4 lower edge.

Pp. 92 and 15: the institution of an “estate of the Crown Prince” was a holdover from the Neo-Babylonian kingdom, as were some of its personnel and some of its business connections; see G. van Driel, “The Rise of the House of Egibi: Nabû-ahhē-iddina,” *JEOL* 29 (1985-86): 58f. Documents mentioning the estate are not evidence of Cambyses’ whereabouts; the identity of the proprietor of the estate as one or another prince begs the question: the holdings went with the office, not with the individual.

Pp. 94 s.v. Kupēšu, 79 s.v. Gubāru d, and 42: PBS 2/1 100, Joannès 1987 (*sic*), no. 88 and EEMA 110 are parts of a single text, written in Susa in 417 B.C.; K. is entitled LÚ *da-ta-ba-ri šá ina* 1[G1 Gūbari(?)]; see M. Stolper, “The Murašû Texts from Susa,” *RA* 86 (1992): 75.

P. 98 s.v. Mardumija a: Evetts, Appendix, no. 4:2 does not refer directly to property of M., but to his major domo ([LÚ.GAL] É), who recurs in BM 64532:2 (Babylon, 478 B.C.), entitled LÚ.GAL É ^mMar-du-ú-ni-ia (forthcoming in *Aula Orientalis* 10).

P. 99 s.v. Masdiesu: delete the entry; read ^mPa(!)-de-e-su, an Egyptian name formed with -esu = Isis (collated; cf. EKBK no. 20:13 and perhaps TMH 2/3 147:23 and upper edge and texts cited by R. Zadok, "On Some Egyptians in First-Millennium Mesopotamia," *Göttinger Miszellen* 26 [1977]: 65).

P. 99 s.v. Mašduku: is this Iranian, not the common Neo-Babylonian name Marduku with -šd- from -rd- (like Neo-Babylonian -št- < -rt-)? Cf. NNB 110f. s.vv. *Maš-tuk-(ku)* and *Maš-tuk-a-ta/tú*.

P. 99 s.v. Mazdaisna²: VAT 15610 r. 4 has [. . .]-ri-ma-na-² DUMU ŠÁ ^mMa-az-da-iz-na-² LÚ *par-ra-as-ta-mu* KUR *Par-su* (collated). Eilers 1953, p. 23 = p. (sic) 57 cites the name but refers to Eilers 1936, p. 170, n. 1, where the text is identified; see also IBKU, p. 23 n. 2, for the reference to par(r)astamu. Add [. . .]-ri-ma-na-², p. 145.

P. 100 s.v. Mi²da²: is this Iranian? Cf. Mi-da-², son of Pi-zu-du-² TMH 2/3 142:4 and 8, both names thought to be Anatolian (Eilers 1940, pp. 223f.), Mi-da-aḥ(?) BM 30136:2 and 5, and especially Mi-da-² called "the Phrygian" (*Sapardaja*) Istanbul Ni. 520:3, from the Murašû archive.

P. 104 s.v. Nabūgu: YOS 7, 192 refers to "a written authorization from N. and its (the donkey's) harness (kuš *tillušu*)." But in texts cited on pp. 159f., considering the association with Cimmerian bows and arrows, *tillu* is presumably "quivers," not "straps"; p. 220, alphabetize s.v. *tillu*, not s.v. *mašak*.

P. 105 s.v. Nariāspi: read Enlil-šum-ukīn (not -iddin). EEMA 107:7-14 has ". . . *mār banē* of Nippur in whose presence Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, said to Enlil-šum-ukīn, son of Aplā, as follows: 'You are holding assets of N., son of Kartam, that are in Nippur.' Then Enlil-šum-ukīn said as follows: 'Those assets are indeed in my possession. For . . . sons of N. . . .' Enlil-šum-iddin released those assets to Enlil-šum-ukīn."

P. 106 s.v. Numagazu and 121 s.v. Šatabaksu: VAS 3 159:3 has Š. and N., the superintendent (*rab bīti*) of [. . .] (N. is not the superintendent of Š., and Š. is not the "holder of a manor").

P. 114 s.v. Piridātu: move this entry to p. 88, s.v. Išpiridātu. VAS 15609:3 has ^m(¹)Iš-pi-ri-da-a-ta (collated), presumably for Iranian *Spihradāta < Spiθradāta, but if so it is an extraordinarily early instance of Iranian θr > hr (see Hinz, ASN, p. 166 s.v. *mihra-bandaka, and cf. Dandamayev, pp. 30 s.v. Arbamiḥri,

perhaps from *Arb/va-Miθra-, and 55 s.v. Bagamiḥi, perhaps from *Baga-Miθra-).

P. 121 s.v. Šatabarzana a, and 171: in view of the name Arbamiḥri, Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 17, no. 7 rev. 3 is probably to be read Ar-m/ba-².^dMit-ri (not Arma²beri). The seal impression comes from the ring of the servant, A., not of the master, Š.

Pp. 121f. s.v. Šataḥma² a and b: the two subentries refer to a single person. The name is also spelled Šá-ta-ḥu (PBS 2/1 128) and [Šá-ta]-ḥu-um (NABU 1989/86). PBS 2/1 100+ r. 8 does not name a subordinate of Š., but Š. himself as a witness.

Pp. 130 s.v. Ubaratta a, and 232: read Ú-bar-¹at-ta¹ in Dar. 458:13. Delete Ubaratta b: VAT 15620 has Ú-mar- za-nu (line 6) = [. . .]-za-nu (line 4); it does not have LÚ *Ḥur-zi-ma-a-a* (collated).

P. 136 s.v. Ummadātu: Dar. 435 was drafted at Šušan, probably near Borsippa, but it deals with property in Šuman (= Šuanna), in Babylon; see F. Joannès, "Un quartier fantôme de Babylone," NABU 1989/78.

P. 141 s.v. Uštānu b: the characterization as "prince" arises from ^mUš-¹ta-na-²¹ LÚ.DUMU [É] PBS 2/1 105:3, where no other reading is plausible.

P. 142 s.v. Zabraganu: TCL 13 123 is from the Kasr archive, hence from Babylon or nearby. It bears the seal-impression of the scribe Nabû-nādin-aḥi, also impressed on other Kasr texts; see Klengel-Brandt, "Siegelabrollungen aus dem Babylon der Spätzeit," *OrAn* 8 (1969): 331, fig. 1; see also R. Zadok, "Zur Geographie Babyloniens während des sargonidischen, chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeitalters," *WO* 16 (1985): 28.

P. 143 s.v. Zamaspa² b: BM 30136 is probably from the Kasr archive, hence from Babylon or nearby.

P. 145 s.v. no. 349: HSM 8405 is not a promissory note in the ordinary sense (*u²iltu*), but a record of a deposit to be repaid on demand (*paqdu*).

P. 145 s.v. no. 350: the description in Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 4, does not fit the tablet that now bears the number VAT 15626 (collated).

Dates of some texts can be amended:

EKBK 31 (pp. 25, 30, 51, and 107), is dated in year 40 of Artaxerxes I, 425 B.C. EKBK 24 (p. 31) is probably from the reign of Artaxerxes II, 402 B.C. IBKU, pl. II VAT 15607 (p. 37) is from the reign of Darius II. VAT 15610 (p. 99) is from the reign of Artaxerxes II. Michigan Collection 46 (pp. 47, 87) is from year 3 of Artaxerxes II, 402/1 B.C.; it was written at Borsippa but not found there. These five texts are from the Kasr archive from Babylon.

TCL 13 203 (p. 37) is from year 2 of Artaxerxes II, 403 B.C. (cf. p. 34; see J. Oelsner, "Zwischen Xerxes und

Alexander: *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden und Wirtschaftstexte aus der späten Achämenidenzeit*, *WO* 8 [1976]: 314, n. 12).

Evetts, Appendix, no. 4 (p. 98) is certainly from Babylon and probably from 479 B.C.

IBKU, pl. III, BM 54205 (pp. 52[!], 56, 113, 127) is dated 8/VII/12 [Ar]-tak-[šá-as-su] (collated), probably Artaxerxes I, to judge by the seal impressions, hence 457 B.C. Identification between Bagamīri a and Bagamīri b (p. 56) is excluded.

OECT 10 357 (p. 38) is from the reign of Xerxes or Artaxerxes I, like the other texts in OECT 10 in which Mušallim-Bēl, son of Nidintu, is a principal.

Some references may be added:

Texts published since the book was in preparation include:

BM 54091	=	RA 85 55
CLBT, p. 13, A. 124	=	OECT 12 pl. 19
HSM 8408	=	AMI NF 23 175
Kelsey Museum 89490	=	Iraq 54 137
YBC 11607	=	AMI NF 23 163f.

The text cited passim as “Kelsey Museum 8133” is K. 8133 (Bezold Cat. II 898), part of the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, though originally R. 112, from the collection of Claudius Rich. An edition appears in the following “Brief Communication,” q.v.

P. 4: the governor Tattannu is probably not connected with the Tattannu archive; see Stolper, “Tobits in Reverse: More Babylonians at Ecbatana,” *AMI NF* 23 (1990): 168, n. 11.

P. 5: Achaemenid use of *muma²iru* as a title of the provincial governor is implicit in *muma²irūtu* in Sachs-Hunger Diaries I no. –366 A ii 8, referring to the reign of Artaxerxes II.

P. 7: the Elamite reflex of Iranian **gaiθāpati*- is frequent in Persepolis Fortification texts: Hallock, OIP 92 711 s.v. *kāṣabattiš*.

Pp. 7 and 134: cf. F. Joannès, “Pouvoirs locaux et organisations du territoire en Babylonie achéménide,” *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990): 179, suggesting *appaditu* = “contrôleur.” The Nabû-nādin-aḫi entitled *uppadēti* in BV 116:7 and edge also appears with the same title, again listed among judges (entitled *DI.KUD*) as witnesses in JAOS 111 33 n. 41 Rm. 681:21 and upper edge (Babylon, Darius I, year 32) and n. 42 BM 33933:21 and lower edge (Babylon, Darius I, year 33). On BOR 4 132, see R. van der Spek, “The Babylonian Temple during the Macedonian and Parthian Domination,” *BiOr* 42 (1985): 549f., correcting Unger,

Landsberger, and McEwan 1981, p. 18. The text gives Itti-Marduk-balāṭu three titles: (1) *rab banī muḫḫi āli*, that is, a member of a group of temple personnel of uncertain functions (rations for numbers of individuals with the same title, and for their wives, are entered in late Achaemenid and early Macedonian administrative lists; see TEBR, pp. 332ff., with complete references and parallel contexts; for the doubtful sense of (*ša*) *muḫḫi āli*—scarcely “in charge of the city”—see van der Spek 1986, pp. 80f., and F. Joannès, “Le titre de *ša rēš āli* (lúsag uru-a),” *NABU* 1988/10, on a similar title, again indicating a member of a collectivity of temple personnel; might *ša* SAG URU and *ša* UGU URU be interchangeable graphic variants?); (2) *uppadētu* of the temples (cf. perhaps PN *ša ana muḫḫi banū ša bitāt ilāni* in the nearly contemporary text, R. J. van der Spek, “Nippur, Sippar and Larsa in the Hellenistic Period,” in *Nippur at the Centennial*, ed. Maria deJ. Ellis (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1992), 250:5; and (3) astrologer (lit. Enuma-Anu-Enlil scribe), again one of a group whose status and remuneration were regulated by the temple. In the absence of even a convincing etymology, any translation is a guess. Contexts do not make “city-governor” cogent.

Pp. 8 and 149ff.: add [. . .]-x-ri the “Elamite judge” (*DI.KUD elamū*) JAOS 111 33 n. 41 Rm. 681:20.

P. 11: *kalamarri* (*karamarri*, *karri ammaru*) also appears in BE 9 55 and Dar. 551; see Stolper 1977, pp. 259ff., and EEMA, pp. 28ff.

P. 16: *aspastu* also occurs in Graziani, *Testi . . . datati al regno di Bardiya* no. 14:3; see M. Jursa, “Neues zur Zeit des Bardia,” *NABU* 1993/19, with literature, and “aspastu,” *NABU* 1993/40. Despite the CAD, VAS 5 55:2 probably has *bit as-pa-<as>-tum*, “lucerne(?) field,” as in Entrepreneurs and Empire no. 19:6 and Ni. 528:6 (unpublished Murašû), and so characterizes the field in question not with two different juridical labels but with one description by use and one by legal status. The context calls for *bit a*. to be understood as a singular (like *bit ritti*, to which it is in apposition) as Dandamayev translates it, and not as a feminine plural, as Dandamayev analyzes it (like the plural phrases *bit qašātu*, “bow lands,” or *mār šipirāta*, “messengers”).

P. 17: Achaemenid “fiefs” are documented in most cities of Babylonia; see TEBR, pp. 8f.

P. 29 s.v. Amisiri²: see Zadok 1989/90, p. 274.

P. 31 s.v. Ar²enu: add Ar-ri-en-nu, proprietor of a royal landgrant (*nidinti šarri*) VAT 15619:5 (Kasr archive, year 9 of Darius II).

P. 32 s.v. Ariāpānu(!): see Stolper, “Late Achaemenid Texts from Dilbat,” *Iraq* 54 (1992): 139, for

etymology, literature, and an Aramaic spelling of the same name.

P. 37 s.v. Artahšar, end: add LÚ *am-mar-a-ka-lu* (= *hamārakara*) van der Spek, *Nippur at the Centennial*, 250f.:3 and 29 (Nippur, Seleucid Era 158 = 154 B.C.).

P. 37 s.v. Artahšassu: add the abbreviations ÁR LUGAL OECT 10 215:2, ÁR-tak LUGAL OECT 10 206:2 and 217:2; and the spellings Ar-ta-as-su OECT 10 191:19, Ar-ta-ka-su OECT 10 189 r. 8, and Ar-ta-ri-ta-as-su RT 19 101:3.

P. 37 s.v. Artaxerxes II: on the fragments of royal inscriptions from Babylon, see F. Vallat, "Le Palais d'Artaxerxes II à Babylone," *Northern Akkad Project Reports* 2 (1989): 3–6.

P. 37 s.v. Artaxerxes III: texts dated in his reign also include UET 4 1 and 2 (see J. Oelsner, "Zwischen Xerxes und Alexander . . .," *WO* 8 [1976]: 314); W 15584, from Uruk (see G. Sarkisian, "New Cuneiform Texts from Uruk of the Seleucid Period in the Staatliche Museum zu Berlin," *FuB* 16 [1974]: 16); and VAT 16476, from Uruk (see Oelsner, *WO* 8:315, n. 16, and Oelsner 1986, p. 409 n. 571). If TEBR nos. 91 and 103 belong to the reign of Artaxerxes III, then so should VAS 6 293 and OECT 12 pl. xlii B 7 (see TEBR, pp. 331, 333, and 345).

Pp. 38f. s.v. Artambar: cf. Lycian Artumpara; see R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *ZDMG* 117 (1967): 129.

Pp. 42f.: to citations of *dāta*, add: *da-[a]-tú* CT 49 102:7; *da-a-ta* šá(!) LUGAL(!) CT 49 173:11 (record of a pledge), and *da-a-tum* šá LUGAL CT 49 137:29, all Seleucid.

P. 47 s.v. Atebaga²: for etymological proposals, see also Hinz, APN, pp. 50 and 119, and compare A-te-²-EN CT 49 173 lower edge; A-te-²-^dEN CT 49 111:3 and BM 79100:4; and A-ti-²-^dEN BM 77203 lower edge = Ĥa(?)-ti-²-^dEN *ibid.* 14, (all Seleucid), where EN and ^dEN perhaps represent Iranian Baga, rather than Babylonian Bēl, as DINGIR.MEŠ-da-a-ta perhaps represents Baga- *dāta* (see Dandamayev, p. 50).

P. 49 s.v. Attaluš: Šihā is etymologically Egyptian, as here, not Babylonian, as on p. 6; for literature and references, see Streck *Asb.* 10f. i 106 and 720, and Stolper 1989, p. 288, n. 3.

Pp. 50ff. s.v. Bagadāta: add Ba-ga-²-UD-da-tú UM 29-13-729:6 and 8 (Nippur, 3/IX/24 Artaxerxes I).

P. 52 s.v. Bagadāta I: to the citations of *ustarbaru* add HSM 8405 (Babylon, 11 +/—/7 Artaxerxes), where the title is held by two individuals, both with Babylonian names, and HSM 8414 (2/V/19 Artaxerxes), where it is held by an individual with a name that is probably Iranian. At least two known holders of this status, which

Dandamayev considers "rather insignificant," held properties characterized as "royal land grants" (*nidinti šarri*: BE 9 102; IBKU, pl. III, see p. 113 s.v. Pattināšu), and others had subordinate "bailiffs," implying that they held comparable estates (BE 10 129 and HSM 8414), and the Bagadāta discussed here calls the several plundered settlements "my villages," implying an extensive estate and numerous dependents.

Pp. 56f. s.v. Bagamīri: Ba-ḥa-me-i-ri OECT 10 191:2 is perhaps to be added here.

P. 62 s.v. Bagasaru a: to citations of *ganzabaru* add *ušrū ša* [PN] LÚ *gan-za-bar-ri* BM 132290:3, from Babylon, Alexander or later (courtesy Kennedy).

P. 69 s.v. Darius III: to the single text in the list of documents dated in his reign add UET 4 25 (see Oelsner, *WO* 8 [1976]: 314).

P. 72 s.v. Girparna²: on Parthian Gryprn see also Zadok 1981/1982, p. 138.

P. 72 s.v. Gubāru: add the spelling Gú-bar-ri, BE 8 80:13f. (perhaps influenced by LÚ.GÚ. GAL and LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA *ibid.* 1 and 12).

P. 79 s.v. Gubāru d: add VAT 15613 (see Eilers 1940, p. 194 n. 2), from the reign of Artaxerxes (perhaps Artaxerxes II), mentioning two persons called "servant (*qallu*) of G. (wr. Gu-bar-ra and Gu-ba-ra)" (collated).

P. 80: add Gūnija (Gu-ni-ia) a witness in K. 8133:19, probably Iranian **gauna-ya-* (cf. Hinz, ASN, pp. 98 s.v. **fratagaunā-*, and 105 s.v. **gaunaka-*; Zadok, personal communication).

P. 81 s.v. Ĥambaru: despite occasional spellings with *Personenkeil*, the word appears only in the geographical name, not independently as a personal name; the loanword, *ḥanbara*, "storehouse," occurs as a common noun in BE 9 19; see Stolper 1977, pp. 252ff.

P. 81 s.v. Ĥaridapū: perhaps Egyptian; see R. Zadok, "On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 173.

P. 82 s.v. Ĥarrimaz: perhaps Egyptian; see Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 172 and *Göttinger Miszellen* 26 (1977): 67, n. 6 on Ĥar-ru-ma-šu and "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam during the 1st Millennium B.C.," *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992): 141 on Ĥa-ri-ú-ma-šu.

P. 82 s.v. Ĥišiaršu: add the spelling Aḥ-ši-²-as-su, BM 74476:14 (= T. G. Pinches, *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon* [London: British Museum, 1886], 120 no. 104, see G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," *AJSL* 58 (1941): 320, n. 33; collated).

P. 83: add Ĥur(!)-še-e-nu *parastamu māt Parsu* VAT 15610 r. 3 < Iranian **xvaršaina*, see Hinz, APN, p. 140.

P. 83 s.v. Ĥurunnatu: Zadok 1989/90, p. 273, proposes to read Ĥurunnapar, with an Egyptian etymology.

Cf. p. 103 s.v. Munnatu b, where Dandamayev endorses Zadok's Munnapar, with an Egyptian etymology.

P. 89 s.v. Ištabuzana³ b: add BE 9 18:12, written with Iš-, as in PBS 2/1 116; add Iš-tu-bu-za-na-³, lessor of real estate belonging to the queen's estate (É MUNUS ša É.GAL), Ni. 12934+12922 (unpublished Murašû).

P. 100 s.v. Mitrabarzana: see Schmitt 1978, p. 424, no. 46, and Zadok 1977, p. 98, the latter citing M. Mayrhofer, "Indogermanische Chronik 21b–IV. Indo-Iranisch," *Die Sprache* 21 (1975): 225 sub 185, citing R. Degen: "meines Erachtens falscher Lesung."

P. 111: add Pa-ar-šā-gu-ú OECT 12 pl. 48 AB 243:2 (= CLBT, p. 28), proprietor of a royal land grant; see Stolper, *Iraq* 54 (1992): 126.

Pp. 114 s.v. Piridātu, 118 s.v. Rušunpātu c, 145 s.v. no. 349: to citations of *parastamu* (*ša māt Parsu*) add ¹mÚ[-. . . LÚ *pa-ra-as*]-¹ta-mu¹ KUR *Par*-¹su¹ VAT 15610:7 and *ibid.* r. 3f. (above to Huršēnu and Mazdaizna³). With the qualification "of Persia," *parastamu* must indicate something grander than is implied by "foreman." Considering the etymological possibilities, might *p.* be part of the formal protocol of the Achaemenid court, a counterpart of the Iranian usage that lies behind Herodotus' description of Gobryas, Aspathines, and others with access to the king as "foremost (*prōtoi*) of the Persians" (3.68, 70, 77, etc.; see P. Briant "Hérodote et la société perse," in *Hérodote et les peuples non-grecs*, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 35 [Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1990], 74f.)?

P. 119 s.v. Sakita: "an immigrant from Asia Minor" reflects the gentilic *Imbukuaja* following the name and Eilers 1940, pp. 215ff. (citing collations by Gadd); see also Zadok 1976d, p. 66, holding that the gentilic may refer to people from somewhere in western Iran or Armenia.

P. 120 s.v. Šammû: add OECT 10 285:4; for other occurrences and an Egyptian etymology, see Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 173; *WO* 16 (1985): 174 (noting the Egyptian Aramaic transcription Šmw); and *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992): 142.

P. 125 s.v. Tiḥupardesi: see Zadok 1976b, p. 215 following Eilers 1953, p. 48, in suggesting that the name is Egyptian.

P. 130: ¹Ú-bar-na-ak-ka OECT 10 229:2 (in PN LÚ.GAL(!) É ša U., hence evidently the proprietor of an estate) is probably to be added here.

P. 132 s.v. Ukiria: add Ú-ke(copy D1)-e-ri-³ OECT 10 285:5.

P. 134: It seems unlikely that Uma³piria is a different name from Umaḥpirē (p. 133); Zadok 1989/90, p. 274, prefers an Egyptian etymology, and conjec-

tures that Uparē (Dandamayev, p. 137) is another spelling of the same name.

P. 134 s.v. Umardātu: add the spellings Ú-ru-da-a-tú BE 10 50:13 from Dandamayev, p. 138, and Ḫu-ur-da-a-tú PBS 2/1 103:9 and upper edge.

P. 134 s.v. Umar³mira³: VAS 6 128 has ša(!) muḥḥi dātu (as on p. 43, written ¹LÚ¹ <<ia>> šá etc.) and *ap-pa-de-tum* (also to be corrected p. 219).

P. 135 s.v. Umarzanu: add Ú-mar-za-na-³ LÚ *Im-bu-ku*(!)-a-a, a witness, Dar. 458:15; see Eilers 1940 (*sic*), pp. 218f.

P. 139 s.v. Uspamiš: to the citation of Zadok 1977, p. 96, n. 53 add *ibid.* p. 100, n. 88, where the cross-reference to p. 94, n. 30 makes it clear that Zadok's suggestion that the first component of the name is derived from Iranian *višta* is an error for a suggestion about the second component (i.e., -miš < viš- < *višta*).

P. 144 s.v. Zimakka³: Zi-ma-ga-³, patronym of Ḫan-da-uk(?)-ku BM 74476:4 (= Pinches, *Nimroud Central Saloon*, 120 no. 104; Sippar, 17/II/1 Xerxes; collated) is perhaps to be added here. Ḫandaukku may also be Iranian, a hypocoristic of a name compounded with *ham*-.

P. 154: to the astute comment on Xenophon's perception of the Assyrian heartland as Median territory, one might compare DB §33, where Darius describes mutilating and displaying one of the captured rebels at Ecbatana, then sending him to Arbela for execution. To the summary of evidence on Babylonians in Ecbatana add AMI NF 23 163f. = YBC 11607 (cited on pp. 48 and 137).

Obstacles to communications between Dandamayev and his editors and publishers arising from political conditions in Russia after 1987 may account for some of the frequent typographical errors and editorial lapses (e.g., errors and inconsistencies in spelling, citation style, cross-references, alphabetization, transliteration and normalization, omission and duplication of entries in indexes).

Length of vowels in names normalized from Babylonian sometimes reflects etymology rather than spelling (e.g., Ba-ga-a-pa-na = Bagapāna), sometimes reflects spelling rather than etymology (e.g., Is-pi-i-ta-am-mu < Spitāma = Ispitammu), sometimes ignores both etymology and writing (e.g., various spellings of Ugbaru, Gubaru, Gubarru, etc. < Gaubaruva = Gubāru).

A few Babylonian words and names are transcribed erroneously more than once: Bēl-bullissu (pp. 9, 28, 68, 224), Bēl-ikšur (pp. 109, 224), *rikis qabli* (pp. 16, 18, 220), Tattannu (pp. 44, 128, 161, 232).

P. 53 s.v. Baga-ḥaja and passim: different systems of transliteration are used to represent Achaemenid Elamite names, sometimes mixed in the representation of a single name.

P. 187: add to the list of abbreviations, RIA (usually printed as RIA) = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.

P. 194: add to the list of works cited, Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferungen* (Leipzig, 1940).

P. 196: add Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969); Joannès, "Un quartier fantôme de Babylone," *N.A.B.U.* 1989, no. 3, pp. 54-55; Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente* (Paris, 1982). Hüsing, cited on p. 72 with reference to texts that were excavated in 1893 and not published until 1912 must refer to the substantially revised and enlarged edition of 1933.

P. 205: the last entry s.v. Zadok is to be completed: review of Stolper, M. W., *Entrepreneurs and Empire, Die Welt des Orients* 20-21, 1989/90, pp. 273-76.

Pp. 209ff.: cuneiformists who are annoyed to find texts cited as "Scheil 1921" or "Ungnad 1960" are likely to be enraged by texts cited baldly as "Strassmaier," "Thompson," or "Weidner." Texts omitted

from the index of "Passages Cited" include: Cameron, p. 216 (p. 7); Knopf, p. 50 SC 61 (p. 37); Stolper 1976, pp. 192ff. (p. 11); Stolper 1989, pp. 285f. (pp. 84, 107). Under CLBT p. 13, no. A. 124 (*sic*) add p. 111; under EKBK 31 add p. 107.

P. 218: under "Old Iranian Toponyms" delete Ḥandīdu. Add (h)vārazmu- (better: Uvārazmī) and delete this entry from the list of "Old Iranian Words."

Pp. 220 (f.: under "Other Akkadian Words" add agurru (p. 169, and delete this entry from "Old Iranian Words"); maqtu (pp. 65, 96), purkullu (p. 92), rab sirāšī (p. 88). Move bar baytā to "Aramaic." Under "Aramaic" add ʔprsk (*sic*) (p. 9). Under "Parthian" read gry- for ry-.

Pp. 221ff.: Under "People" add Arma-be-ri (pp. 121, 171). For ʔRNTBW read ʔRTBNW. Delete iprasakku, a common noun. Delete "a satrap" after Ispitāmaʔ.

Pp. 234ff. Under "Places" delete Beri, a divine name; under Enlil-ašābšu(*sic*)-iqbi, add pp. 100 and 138 (and delete this entry under "People"). Add Nāqī-dīni p. 118 (and delete this entry under "People," p. 229 end).

P. 239: no reference to an "indexer" appears on p. xi.